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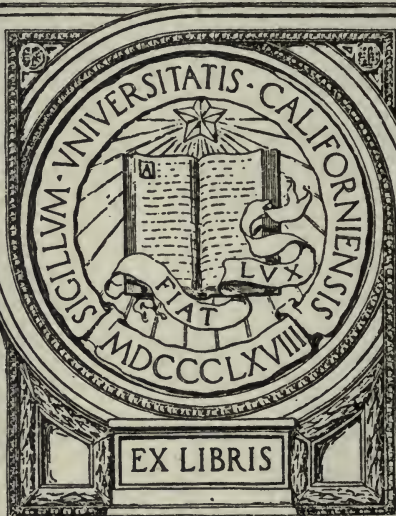
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THE CHURCH AND OUR GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

*An Address Delivered before the Faculty and Students of the University of Notre Dame, October 5, 1904.
From the Author's Manuscript*

BY

THE HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT,
U. S. SECRETARY OF WAR



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in the Philippines



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BERNARD MOSES

The Church and Our Government In the Philippines.

SINCE my return from the Philippine Islands, it has been my privilege to discuss the question touching Church and State arising in the administration of those islands, before Presbyterian and Episcopalian bodies and before the General Chautauqua Assembly. This is the first time that I have addressed a distinctly Catholic audience upon the subject. I am glad to do so, because, naturally, the Roman Catholics of America are more closely interested than any other denomination in such issues, affecting, as they do, 7,000,000 of people in the archipelago, a large majority of whom are Roman Catholics.

Magellan, in search of spices, was the first European to land in the Philippine Islands. He lost his life near the present city of Cebu in 1521. The archipelago was not really taken possession of as a colony of Spain until 1565. This was in the reign of Philip II. The colonization of the Philippines had its motive not in gain but in the desire to extend the Christian religion. The islands were indeed a Christian mission

rather than a colony, and this characteristic has affected their history to the present day. It is true that Legaspi, the former alcalde of the city of Mexico, who was sent out with Friar Urdaneta, of the Augustinian Order, was directed to examine the ports of the Philippine Islands and to establish trade with the natives; and that the importance of winning the friendship of the natives was emphasized as a means of continuing the trade. But the viceroy of Philip II. ordered Legaspi to treat the five Augustinian Friars in his company with the utmost respect and consideration, so that the natives should also hold them in respect; "since," as he wrote to Legaspi, "you are aware that the chief thing sought after by his Majesty is the increase of the Holy Catholic Faith and the salvation of the souls of these infidels." In other Spanish expeditions the sum of money paid for the trip was paid by adventurers who contributed part of the fund and who were aided from the royal treasury, the understanding being that there should be an equitable division of the profits between the adventurers and the king. There was, however, no adventurer connected with this expedition. It was purely a governmental enterprise sent out by order of Philip II., and he paid all the expenses. A contem-

porary writer says that when the king was informed that the Philippines were not rich in gold and pearls and that their occupation might not be lucrative but the reverse, he answered: "That is not a matter of moment; I am an instrument of Divine Providence. The main thing is the conversion of the kingdom of Luzon; and God has predestined me for that end, having chosen me His king for that purpose. And since He has intrusted so glorious a work to me and my crown, I shall hold the islands of Luzon, even though by doing so I exhaust my treasury."

Again, in 1619, in the reign of Philip III., it was proposed to abandon the Philippines on the ground of their useless expense to Spain, and an order to that effect was given. A delegation of Spanish friars from the archipelago, however, implored the king not to abandon the 200,000 Christians whom they had by that time converted, and the order was countermanded.

I may digress here to say that some years before the American occupation, a popular subscription was taken up in Manila to pay for the erection of the statue of Legaspi, the founder of the city. Subsequently the plan was changed so as to include Urdaneta, the Augustinian Friar, who accompanied Legaspi. Querol, a Spanish sculptor of note,

designed the monument, and it was cast in bronze and sent to Manila. When the American forces captured the place, there were found in the Custom House the various pieces of the monument, but nothing looking to its erection had been done. The military government of Manila under General Davis, decided, and properly decided, that it would be a graceful act on the part of the American authorities to erect the monument. This was done, and the monument now stands on the Luneta overlooking the Bay of Manila, and occupies the most prominent site in the whole archipelago. It is a work of art. The two figures are instinct with courage and energy. Legaspi on the right bears in his left hand the standard of Spain; on the left, and slightly in advance of Legaspi, Urdaneta carries in his right hand, and immediately in the front of the Spanish standard, the cross. The whole, as an artistic expression, satisfies the sense of admiration that one feels in reading of the enterprise, courage and fidelity to duty that distinguished those heroes of Spain who braved the then frightful dangers of the deep to carry Christianity and European civilization into the far-off Orient.

Under the circumstances I have described, the occupation of the islands took on a

different aspect from that of ordinary seeking for gold and profit, and was not in the least like the conquest of Pizarro and Cortez. The natives were treated with great kindness and consideration. The priests exerted every effort to conciliate them. The government was first established at Cebu, subsequently at Iloilo in Panay, and finally at Manila in 1571. There was at Manila some fighting of a desultory and not very bloody character; but Legaspi, obeying the direction of his superior, at once entered into negotiations with the natives. He found that there was no great chief in command, but that each town had its own chief and there was no other government than that of many petty rulers. They were jealous of one another, were easily induced to acknowledge allegiance to the King of Spain, and were quickly brought under the influence of the active missionary efforts of the friars who accompanied Legaspi. History affords few instances in which sovereignty was extended over so large a territory and so many people (for the island must then have had half a million inhabitants) with less bloodshed. When Legaspi's lieutenant, Salcedo, first visited Manila, he found evidence that there had been an effort to convert the people to Mohammedanism, but it had not proceeded far. Undoubtedly, if Legaspi had

not at that time come into the islands, all the peoples of the archipelago, instead of only five per cent of them, would now, have been Mohammedan. The willingness of the natives to embrace Christianity, their gentle natures and their love of the solemn and beautiful ceremonies of the Catholic Church, enabled the friars to spread Christianity through the islands with remarkable rapidity.

It should be borne in mind that these are a Malay people; and that nowhere in the world, except in the Philippine Islands, has the Malay been made a Christian. In other places where the race abides, Mohammedanism has become its religion; and there is no condition of mind which offers such resistance to the inculcating of Christianity as that found in the followers of the Prophet of Mecca.

The friars learned the various dialects of the natives, and settled down to live with them as their protectors and guardians. In the first two hundred years of Spanish occupation, the Crown had granted to various Spanish subjects large tracts of land called *encomiendas*. To those who occupied these *encomiendas* it was intended to give the character of feudal lords. They, of course came into contact with the natives and attempted to use them for the develop-

ment of their properties. The history of the islands until 1800 shows that the friars who had increased in number from time to time were constantly exercising their influence to restrain abuse of the natives by these encomienderos, or large land-owners; and the result of their efforts is seen in the royal decrees issued at their request, which were published and became known as the "Laws of the Indies." It is very probable that the encomienderos frequently violated the restrictions which were put upon them by these laws in dealing with the natives; but there is nothing to show that the friars winked at this or that they did not continue to act sincerely as the protectors of the natives down to the beginning of the past century. Under the law a native could not be sued unless there was made party to the suit an official who was ordinarily a friar, known as "the Protector of the Indian." The encomiendero who had to do with the natives was not permitted to live in a town on his own estates where the natives lived. The friars exerted their influence to induce the natives to live in towns near the church and the convento, or parish house, because they thought that this would bring the natives more fully "under the the bells," as they called it, or within religious

influence. One of the friars laid down as a rule, which was adopted by his Order and approved by the government as early as 1580, the following:

1. "It is proper that pueblos should be formed, the missionaries being ordered to establish themselves at a certain point where the church and the parish house (convento), which will serve as a point of departure for the missions, will be built. The new Christians will be obliged to build their houses about the church, and the heathen will be advised to do so.

2. "Elementary schools should be established, in which the Indians will be taught not only Christian doctrine and reading and writing, but also arts and trades; so that they may become not only good Christians but also useful citizens."

So great and complete became the control which the friars exercised over the natives by reason of their sincere devotion to their interests, that Spain found it possible to police the islands with very few troops.

The Spanish military force in the Philippines in 1600 was 470 officers and men. In 1636 this had increased to 1762 Spaniards and 140 natives. From 1828 to 1896 the Spanish forces varied from 1000 to 3000 officers and men. In 1896, just before the revolution, the army included

18,000 men, of whom 3000 were Spaniards; and a constabulary of 3500 men most of whom were natives.

The Spaniards, but not the natives, were until 1803 subject to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Idolatries, heresies and errors of belief committed by the natives were brought before the bishop of the diocese, but not before the Holy Office.

Although the natives held slaves, upon the arrival of the Spaniards the custom was discouraged by a law forbidding Spaniards to hold slaves, and by prohibiting judges from deciding in cases of dispute whether a man was a slave; so that a slave appearing before the court was ordinarily liberated.

In Cavite the friars maintained a hospital for sick sailors; in Manila, Los Banos and Caceres were hospitals for sick natives; in Manila, Pila and Caceres were hospitals for Spaniards, the clergy and natives who could afford to pay. In Manila was maintained a hospital for sick negro slaves.

Between 1591 and 1615, the friars of the Philippines had sent missionaries to Japan, who devoted themselves to the succor of the poor and needy there, and especially the lepers of that country; so that there were in Japan, when the ports of that country were closed, about thirty-two priests. Twenty-six

of them were crucified or burned alive. When the Mikado expelled the Christians he sent to the governor-general of the Philippines three junks laden with 150 lepers, with a letter in which he stated that, as the Spanish friars were so anxious to provide for the poor and afflicted, he sent them a cargo of men who were really sorely oppressed. These unfortunates were taken ashore and housed at Manila, in the hospital of San Lazaro, which has ever since been used for lepers.

I draw much of what I have said from an introduction by Captain John R. M. Taylor, of the 14th Infantry, Assistant to the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, who is engaged in compiling original documents connected with the Philippines, with notes. Speaking of what the friars did in the islands, Captain Taylor says:

“To accomplish these results required untiring energy and a high enthusiasm among the missionaries, in whom the fierce fires of religious ardor must have consumed many of the more kindly attributes of humanity. Men who had lived among savages, trying to teach them the advantages of peace and the reasonableness of a higher life, who had lived among them speaking their tongues until they had almost forgotten their own, must have felt when promoted to the high places in the

religious hierarchy, that their sole duty was to increase the boundaries of the vineyard in which they had worked so long. Spain had ceased to be everything to them: their Order was their country; and the cure of souls, and the accumulation of means for the cure of souls was the truest patriotism.... They were shepherds of a very erring flock. Spanish officials came and went, but the ministers of the Church remained, and as they grew to be the interpreters of the wants of the people, and in many cases their protectors against spoliation, power fell into their hands."

The influence of the friars was thrown against the investigation and development of the resources of the Philippines. The priests reasoned that the working of the mines in Peru and Mexico had meant suffering and death to many of the natives; and that it was better to let the mines in the Philippines, if mines there were, lie unopened. Few Spanish merchants lived permanently in the islands, and these were chiefly engaged in the transshipment of Asiatic merchandise from Manila, and had but little interest in Philippine products. The internal development of the islands was neglected. Taxes were light, and there was little money to make improvements or to establish schools. One Spanish-speaking priest among three

or four thousand natives could not do much in spreading the knowledge of the language. It is probable that, apart from the convenience of the priest's learning the language of his parish instead of requiring the parishioners to learn his, it was deemed expedient from a moral standpoint to keep the common people ignorant of Spanish. To know Spanish meant contact with the outside world, and the priests feared—not civilization, but the evils of civilization. Modern material progress seemed to the Spanish missionaries of little worth, compared with keeping their people innocent.

It ought to be noted, however, that while the policy of the friars seems to have been to keep the common people in a state of Christian pupilage, they founded a university, that of St. Thomas, which is older than either Harvard or Yale, and is still doing educational work. The Jesuits, too, founded and are now carrying on several very good academic schools in Manila, and there are a few others in the islands. All the well-educated Filipinos owe their education to institutions of learning founded by friars or Jesuits, or conducted under their auspices.

This brief description of the control of the Philippine Islands and of the Philippine people by a thousand Spanish friars prior to the nineteenth century, at once prompts

the question how it has come about that the Philippine people now manifest such hostility to those who were for two hundred and fifty years their sincere and earnest friends, benefactors and protectors? There were several causes for the change. The intimate and affectionate relations existing between the friars and their native parishioners had led to the education of natives as priests, and to the acceptance of some of them as members of the religious orders. Before 1800, of the bishops and archbishops who had been appointed in the islands, twelve were natives; but after the first years of the nineteenth century no such places of preferment were offered them; and after 1832 they were not allowed to become members of the religious orders. This change of policy created a cleavage between the native clergy and the friars, which gradually widened. In all countries in which the Roman Catholic religion has become fairly established, it has been the ultimate policy of Rome to make the Church as popular as possible by appointing the priests and the hierarchy from the natives of the country; but in the Philippines, and especially in the nineteenth century, under the Spanish influence—which, by means of the Concordat between the Spanish Crown and Rome, largely excluded the direct

interposition of Rome in the Philippines—a different policy was followed, and the controlling priesthood was confined as much as possible to the dominant and alien race. The inevitable result of this policy, as soon as any small percentage of the Philippine people passed out from under the pupilage of the Spanish friars, was to create an opposition to them among the people.

In 1767, the Jesuits had been banished from the islands by the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles the Third, and their properties had been confiscated. They were at the time very powerful and rich, and the thirty-two parishes to which they had administered were now given over, through the influence of a secular archbishop, to native priests. The parishes were chiefly in the provinces of Cavite, Manila and Bulacan. In 1852, the Jesuits were permitted to return, and the order permitting their return directed that they should receive again their thirty-two parishes, but in the remote Island of Mindanao. Those parishes had been occupied by Recolletos, the barefooted branch of the Franciscan Order. The Recolletos demanded that if they were turned out of their parishes in Mindanao, they should be restored to the parishes occupied by

the native secular clergy in Cavite, Manila and Bulacan, which had been originally Jesuit parishes. This proposal was resisted by the native secular clergy, but was, nevertheless, carried into effect, increasing the hostility already existing on the part of the native clergy toward the friars. The bitterness of feeling thus engendered spread among the people.

Secondly, the friars had become, generally by purchase, large landowners. They held land enough to make up 250,000 acres in the Tagalog provinces in the immediate neighborhood of Manila. This land, which was rented by them to thousands of tenants, was the best cultivated land in the islands, and was admirably suited for the cheap conveyance of the crops to market. Charges were made that the friars were collecting exorbitant rents; and other agrarian difficulties arose, which, however free from blame the friars may have been, contributed very decidedly to the growing feeling on the part of the native people against their former friends and protectors.

Finally, the construction of the Suez Canal brought the Philippines into comparatively close communication with Spain, and hordes of Spanish adventurers came to the islands. Republican or liberal political views which were then spreading in Spain, leading later to

the formation for a short time of a Spanish republic, reached Manila, and, finding lodgment among some of the educated Filipinos led to a small uprising and so-called insurrection in 1870. A prominent Filipino priest named Burgos, who had been active in the controversies between the friars and the native clergy, was charged with complicity in this uprising, was convicted and was shot on the Luneta. The Spanish government looked to the Spanish friars, because of their intimacy with the people and control over them, to do what was necessary in ferreting out sedition or treason, supposed to be then rife. By custom, and subsequently by law, to the parish priest was given complete supervisory power over the municipal government of his town. His civil functions became very many, and one of his chief duties was supposed by the people to be to report to the central government at Manila the persons in his parish whose political views or actions were hostile to the Spanish régime. The friars thus became involved in a reactionary policy, which placed them in opposition to the people, and made them responsible in the popular mind for the severity with which the Spanish government punished those suspected of liberal political opinions. So bitter did the feeling become that in the

revolution of 1898 there were forty friars killed and three hundred imprisoned; and the latter were released only by the advance of the American forces and the capture of the towns in which they were confined.

I have at various times discussed the dilemma which was presented to the United States after the battle of Manila Bay and the taking of the city of Manila, the signing of the protocol, and when the question arose as to what form the treaty of peace should take. It is not my purpose now to review the situation; it has convinced me that the course which was taken—to wit, that of assuming sovereignty over the islands—was the only honorable course open to the United States.

The condition of the Roman Catholic Church after the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States was a critical one; and while it has somewhat improved, there still remains much to be desired before the Church can assume its proper sphere of usefulness. Many of the churches were injured in the war of the insurrection, and many of the parishes had to be abandoned for lack of priests. The native clergy, consisting mainly of priests of limited education who had acted as assistants to the friars, have become the parish priests; and the learning and

character of many of them are by no means as high as those of Catholic priests of other countries. The friars who were parish priests could not return to the parishes because of the enmity felt against them; and it was difficult to obtain priests from other lands who could discharge the duties of ministers of religion among people whom they did not understand and who did not understand them. I am informed that arrangements are now being made to bring in French, Belgian and American missionaries. The funds which the Spanish government was under obligation to furnish for the salaries of the parish priests, by reason of the Concordat with the Pope, are of course not now available; and this makes it important, from a churchman's standpoint, that as much of the money as possible realized from the friars' lands should be kept in the coffers of the Philippine Church. The truth is that the Church has been placed under the necessity of preparing a new priesthood and of establishing the old church on a new foundation. The policy of the Vatican looks now to the creation as soon as practicable of a new clergy by the education of young Filipinos of good character in theological seminaries to be established for the purpose in Manila, Rome and America.

The transfer of a people from a sovereignty

like that of Spain—in which the Church and government and the State were so closely united that it is at times very difficult to distinguish the possessions and functions of each—to a sovereignty like that of the United States, in which the Church and the state must be separate, has presented a number of most interesting questions for readjustment and settlement; and these questions have been much complicated by the political bearing which the hostility of the people toward the friars' ownership of large agricultural holdings has had upon the situation.

Let us take up, in order, the classes of questions arising between the Roman Catholic Church and the government of the Philippine Islands established by the United States:

First. The three orders—the Augustinians, the Recolletos and the Dominicans—owned among them about 420,000 acres of land. Of this, 120,000 acres had been very recently acquired by grant of the Spanish government, 60,000 acres of it lay in the remote province of Isabela and was granted to the Augustinian Order, in order to secure its improvement; and a similar grant in the Island of Mindoro was made to the Recolletos. The remaining 300,000 acres, however, had been held by the Orders for periods ranging from 50 to 200 years. I

do not find any indication that this land was acquired through undue influence as has been sometimes charged. The chain of titles seems to show that it was all purchased either at private sale or public auction. The lands, especially those in the neighborhood of Manila, the friars highly improved by irrigation at large expense. After the Revolution of 1896, the popular feeling against the friars made the collection of rents from their tenants impossible.

The Insurgent Congress at Malolos, under Aguinaldo, passed acts confiscating to the Filipino Republic all the lands of the friars in the islands; and many of the tenants based their refusal to pay rents to the friars' agents on the ground of this "nationalizing" of the lands, as it was called.

In 1901, American civil government was established, and courts were created for the purpose of determining civil rights. The friars had meantime transferred their titles to promoting companies, taking back shares in the corporations as a consideration for the transfers. With the restoration of tranquillity in 1902, there was no just reason why the companies now owning the lands should not proceed to collect their rents and to oust the tenants if the rents were not paid. The tenants were sullen and not disposed to recognize the titles of the friars

or to pay their rents. A systematic attempt to collect the rents would involve eviction suits against many thousand tenants; judgment would doubtless follow the suits, and the executive officers of the courts must then proceed to evict from their houses and homes thousands of farmers in the most populous provinces of the islands, and chiefly among the Tagalogs, a tribe easily aroused to disturbance and insurrection. After four years of the difficult work of tranquillization it seemed impossible, were these evictions to be instituted, to avoid a return to the disturbed conditions that had so injuriously affected the interests of the islands between 1898 and 1902. Something must be done to avoid the manifest danger to the public peace and to well-ordered government which wholesale evictions of the character described would involve.

Second. It was found that the political hostility toward the friars was so great on the part of the people that any effort to send them from Manila, where they were housed in their monasteries, to the parishes where they had formerly exercised priestly functions, created disturbances that it was difficult for the civil government to control. On political grounds, therefore, it seemed wise for the Church on the friendly suggestion of the government, to select other

ministers than the Spanish members of the Orders which had aroused such political antagonism among the people in the recent history of the islands.

Third. Under the Spanish régime, whenever either a civil or religious charity or school was founded and maintained, the immediate executive officers selected by the government for the purpose of supervising and carrying on such institutions were members of the clergy. There were several large foundations, educational and charitable, with respect to which the claim was made, as soon as the United States government assumed control, that they were not religious charities and so subject to the control of the Roman Catholic Church; but that they were really civil foundations, the care and custody of which necessarily passed with the transfer of sovereignty from the Crown of Spain to the government of the United States. This question has arisen with respect to two hospitals, and the College of San José. The union of Church and State under the Spanish régime was so close that the decision whether a particular foundation was civil or religious involves a consideration of some of the nicest and most puzzling points of law. Take the instance of the College of San José.

A Spaniard named Figueroa, who was

governor of the Island of Mindanao in 1600, died and left a will by which he gave a fund for the establishment and assistance of a school for the education of young Spaniards. In this will, he directed specifically that the school should not be subject to ecclesiastical domination; but he provided that the pupils should have a Christian education, and that the rector of the school should be the head of the Jesuit Order in the Philippines. In 1767, as already said, the Jesuits were expelled from the islands by the King of Spain. After the Jesuits left, the Archbishop of Manila and the governor-general took possession of the property of the College of San José and divided it between them for Church and governmental purposes. When this was brought to the attention of the King of Spain, he severely criticised both officials, and directed that the property—which, he said, had not belonged to the Jesuits, but was only under the control of the superior to carry out Figueroa's will—should be continued in the same trust. He then appointed a Dominican to supervise the administration of the college.

Though the Jesuits were allowed to return to the islands in 1852, the superior of the Order did not resume control of the college. The foundation continued to be under

Dominican supervision, and is now a part of the University of Santo Tomas. The funds are used, under the doctrine known to lawyers as the doctrine of *cy pres*, to maintain a school of medicine in the university. The Filipino Medical Association, as soon as the American government took control of the islands, insisted that this San José trust was a civil foundation, and that it was the duty of the American government to take possession as the trustee, and to “run” the institution as a medical college free from ecclesiastical control. Much local bitterness grew out of the controversy, and the commission finally concluded to pass a law providing a special case for the Supreme Court of the islands to decide. It is now pending, but has not been brought to a hearing, because it was hoped, after the visit to Rome, that it might be settled by compromise.

Fourth. Another class of questions arising between the government of the United States and the Roman Catholic Church is the question of rent and damages for the occupation of churches and conventos by the troops of the United States during the insurrection and subsequent thereto. You must know that nine-tenths of the population of the Philippine Islands reside in houses made of a very light and temporary

material. They live in what are called "shacks" made of bamboo frames with roofs and sides of the nipa-palm. The houses are quickly constructed, easily moved and much subject to destruction by fire. The only permanent buildings in the ordinary town in the Philippines, with the exception of the municipal or town building and a few houses of the wealthy, are the church and the rectory, called the convento. The church is usually a large building of stone or brick, finely situated; and the convento is a great structure adjoining the church and connected with it. The convento offered excellent facilities as a barracks for the troops. As it happened that during the insurrection many of the churches and conventos were abandoned, the troops moved into them—very much to the satisfaction of the church authorities, because in this way their destruction was avoided. The insurgents early in the war had pursued the policy of destroying the churches, in the belief that in this wise they would prevent the American troops from having places in which to live. The occupation of the churches and conventos for military purposes continued for two years, and sometimes longer, and often for quite a period after all hostilities had ceased. This is the foundation for a reason-

able claim against the United States for rent and for damages caused by the occupation. The difficulty is in settling the proper amount due.

Fifth. Another class of questions, and one which at present is perhaps the most troublesome, involves the question of title to a number of parish churches and conventos. In these cases, the title is claimed by the respective municipalities in which the parish church and conventos stand; and the people of some of these municipalities claim the right to turn the church and convento over to the so-called Independent Filipino Catholic Church, a schismatic body established by an apostate Roman Catholic priest named Aglipay. I shall speak more in detail of this question farther on.

I think I have sufficiently stated and explained the questions between the Church and the government to show that they were serious obstacles to the progress of the American government, if steps were not immediately taken to secure a settlement of them. It is not too much to say that the Church was as anxious to bring about a settlement as was the government. The commission recommended the purchase of the friars' lands as a solution of the difficulties arising with respect to them.

It had been fairly well ascertained that if the government bought the lands, the government as a landlord would have less difficulty in dealing with the tenants than it would have in enforcing the rights of the friars as landlords; and that by offering to the tenants opportunity to purchase the lands on small annual payments for ten or twenty years, a transfer of the lands to the tenants might probably be effected without much, if any, pecuniary loss to the government.

Through a prominent American prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, it was intimated by the Vatican to Mr. Root, the Secretary of War, that if an agent of the government could be sent to Rome, the settlement of all these questions might be greatly facilitated by direct negotiation with the head of the Roman Church. The issue was presented to the President and the Secretary of War whether they ought to take the responsibility of a direct communication with the Vatican in the settlement of these questions. Of course the immediate objection to this was the possibility of severe condemnation by the non-Catholics of America, on the ground that it was a radical departure from the traditions of the government, and would be establishing diplomatic relations with the

head of the Roman Church, inconsistent with the separation of Church and State always maintained by our government. There was the natural fear that the purpose of the visit might thus be misconstrued and that a sectarian feeling would be aroused; so that the visit, instead of contributing to the solution of the difficulties in the Philippines, might prove to be a most serious obstacle. On the other hand, the President and Secretary of War thought it possible, after full and frank consultation with many leading clergymen of various denominations, to rely on the clear judgment and common-sense and liberality of all the American people, who must see the supreme difficulties and exceptional character of the problem which the government had to meet in the Philippine Islands, and would welcome any reasonable step toward its solution. It was a business proposition. Was it wiser to deal with an agent of the great corporation of the Roman Church in the Philippine Islands, or with the head of the Church at Roman? The disadvantage of dealing with an agent in the Philippine Islands was that unless direct and satisfactory communication was established with the head of the Church, the representatives of the Church in the islands would be likely to be more or less under the influence of the Spanish friars, whose attitude with

respect to the questions to be decided could not be expected, under the circumstances, to be impartial and free from bias. It was concluded, therefore, to accept the informal invitation, and to send a representative to the Vatican to deal directly with the Pope and with the Congregation of Cardinals, to whom in the ordinary course of business he would probably assign the matter. I was then the Governor of the Philippine Islands, visiting this country for the purpose of testifying before the congressional committees on Philippine affairs.

It was thought appropriate that I should represent the government of the United States in the conferences at Rome. Judge James F. Smith, of the Supreme Court of the Philippines Islands, a Roman Catholic, then on leave in this country, was assigned to accompany me. In addition, Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, the Catholic bishop of Sioux Falls, who had lived a long time in Rome and spoke French with much fluency, and Colonel John Biddle Porter, of the Judge Advocate's Corps of the Army, who also spoke French, made up the party. It was properly thought that Bishop O'Gorman's familiarity with the methods of doing business in the Vatican would be of much assistance to me in carrying on the negotiation. This proved to be in every

way true. Bishop O'Gorman preceded us in the visit to Rome by about two weeks, and met us at Naples when the rest of us landed from the North German Lloyd steamer on our way to Rome. I had received a letter of instruction from the Secretary of War, a letter of introduction from the Secretary of State to Cardinal Rampolla, and a personal letter of courtesy and greeting from President Roosevelt to his Holiness Pope Leo XIII. We first called upon Cardinal Rampolla, who received us cordially, and indicated the time when the Pope would receive us in audience. At the appointed hour, through the magnificent chambers of the Vatican, we were escorted into the presence of Leo XIII. From the moment that we were presented to the Pope until his death, we were constantly being made conscious of the fact that he took a real personal interest in the solution of the difficult problems which had to be solved between the Church and the Philippine government; and that he intended, so far as lay in his power, to bring about the most friendly relation between the United States in the Philippines and the church authorities. He received us most graciously, directed us to seats immediately in front of him, listened attentively while the address which I had

prepared, and which had been translated into French, was read to him by Colonel Porter. He responded in remarks of perhaps fifteen minutes in length, showing that he had caught the points which were presented to him in the address and fully understood them. Our audience was held with him, without the presence of any adviser, cardinal, priest or attendant.

I had always had great admiration for Leo XIII. because of his statesmanlike grasp of the many portentous questions that were presented to him for discussion and solution; but I had supposed that in the latter years of his pontificate he had become so feeble as to be not much more than a lay figure in the Papal government, and that, except for a more formal greeting and salutation, we should have to transact our business with the Curia. I was greatly surprised, therefore, to find this grand old man of ninety-two, though somewhat bent in years and delicate-looking, still able to walk about; and, what was more remarkable, keen and active in his mind, easily following the conversation and addresses made to him, and responding with a promptness and clearness of intellectual vision rarely found in men of old age. Nothing could exceed the cordial graciousness and simple, kindly manner with which

he received us. After the serious part of the audience had been concluded, he made inquiries after our families and our health, and lightened the conversation with a genial wit and sense of humor that were very charming. He assured us of his great delight at our coming and of his determination to insure the success of our visit.

After our first audience with the Pope, I presented my letter of instruction to Cardinal Rampolla, which was referred by him to the proper Congregation of Cardinals, and the negotiations thereafter were in writing. The answer of the Vatican to the Secretary of War's instructions contained a general acquiescence in the desire of the government of the United States to purchase the friars' lands, and an announcement of the Vatican's intention to effect a change in the personnel of the priests in the islands, by a gradual substitution for the Spanish friars of priests of other nationalities, with the ultimate purpose of fitting Filipinos for the clergy; and a proposal that all the matters pending should be turned over for settlement to a conference between an Apostolic Delegate to be sent to the Philippine Islands and the officers of the Insular government.

The correspondence has been published, and I shall not weary you with its details

further than to say that, in the response to the first letter received from Cardinal Rampolla, we thought it proper to propose a definite contract between the government of the islands and the Vatican for the purchase of the lands, at a price to be fixed by a tribunal of arbitration, which should pass not only upon the price of the lands but also upon the question of the trust foundations already referred to, and which should fix for the approval of Congress the amount of rent and damages due for the occupation of the churches and conventos by the United States troops. It was further proposed that this contract should have a condition by which the Vatican would agree to withdraw the friars in the course of three years.

To this condition the Vatican declined to agree. It was willing to make a definite contract for arbitration, but it declined to agree as one of its terms to withdraw the friars from the islands: first, because that was a question of religious discipline which, it did not think, ought to form a term of a commercial contract; secondly, because it did not desire, by such a stipulation, to reflect upon the Spanish religious Orders, and thus give apparent support to the slanders which had been published against the Orders by their enemies;

and, thirdly, because such agreement would be offensive to Spain. We, on the part of the United States, under the instructions of the Secretary War, did not feel authorized to enter into a contract of arbitration with all the uncertainty as to the extent of the obligation assumed, if it did not include as a consideration the withdrawal of the Spanish friars; and accordingly we reverted to the general agreement proposed in the Vatican's first letter, in which the Church indicated its approval of the purchase of the lands, and the settlement of the other questions by negotiation with an Apostolic Delegate to be sent with full powers to Manila.

We were honored by a second audience with Leo XIII. on our departure. We had received at his hands great courtesy, had been invited to attend his consistory held while we were in Rome, and had much enjoyed that interesting occasion. He talked to us on the subject of the Philippines for some twenty or thirty minutes, and assured us again of his intense interest in the friendly solution of the questions arising there, and of his determination that they should all be solved to the satisfaction of the American government. He intimated that while we had not possibly been as successful as we hoped, we would find that through his

Apostolic Delegate, whom he would send, the whole matter would be worked out to our satisfaction.

I count it one of the opportunities of my life to have had the honor of a personal interview with so great an historical figure. ✓ Fragile in body almost to the point of transparency, with beautiful eyes, and a continuing smile full of benignity and charity, he seemed a being whose life could be blown out like a candle flame; and yet there was no apparent failing of intellectual vigor or keenness, and there were all the charm of manner and courtesy of the high-bred Italian.

After the conclusion of the negotiations at Rome, I proceeded to the Philippine Islands to resume the duties of Governor. Within four or five months I was followed by the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Jean Baptiste Guidi, titular Archbishop of Stauropoli. From that time until I left the islands in December, 1903, I was constantly in conference with Monsignor Guidi. Nothing could have proven more conclusively the sincerity of the Pope's desire to establish friendly relations with the American government in the Philippines and to bring about a solution satisfactory to both sides, than his selection of Monsignor Guidi as Apostolic Delegate. He was a

man of the widest political and diplomatic experience; he was a Roman, but had lived in Germany for fourteen years; had been the Secretary of the Papal Nuncio at Berlin; had been himself the Papal Nuncio in Brazil and in Ecuador and the United States of Colombia, and had visited America, where a brother, Father Guidi, had lived for twenty years as a Jesuit priest among the Indians in the Rocky Mountains. He was a profound student of comparative philology, spoke a dozen languages, was a man of affairs, and dealt in the largest and most liberal way with questions presented to him.

When we began the negotiations for fixing the price of the friars' lands, the task seemed a hopeless one. Monsignor Guidi labored under the great disadvantage that, while he was anxious to bring about a sale, he could not control the owners of the lands. The transfer to promoting corporations had apparently put the decision, as to the price in the hands of promoters,—persons not so much interested in a solution of the problem as in the mere question of the amount of money which should be secured. For more than a year and a half, the negotiations were continued; evidence was taken as to the value of the lands, and finally by great good fortune we were able to reach an agreement, and signed contracts for the

purchase and sale of the lands the day before I set sail from Manila to return to Washington—on the 24th of December, 1903. ✓

The first offers on the part of the owners aggregated \$12,500,000: our first offer was \$6,000,000. Their second offer was \$10,500,000: we raised our offer \$1,500,000; and this price of \$7,500,000 was agreed to as a basis, on condition that there should be left out of the sale one hacienda already sold to a railroad company, compensation for which in the price would reduce it to \$7,200,000. A deficiency in area has now reduced the price to about \$7,000,000. The evidence taken as to their value is printed as an appendix to the report of the Governor for 1903. The question of the value of agricultural lands like these is, of course, a mere matter of opinion which can not be settled with certainty. My own view is that the price paid for the lands under present conditions is a good one and certainly fair to the vendors; but that if prosperity returns to the islands, and if the development follow, which we have a reasonable ground for supposing will follow, the government will be able to recoup itself by the price at which it can sell the lands to the tenants, and thus discharge the debt which it has now contracted in order to pay the

purchase price of the lands. The contract of purchase provided for a resurvey of the lands, or rather a joint survey, and also that a good merchantable title should be furnished.

With three of the four promoting companies we have reached a satisfactory conclusion, and the money will be paid within a few days. With the fourth—the company representing the Dominican lands—there has been considerable dispute over the contract price and the title. We have the money ready to pay in a New York bank, but there is such a deficiency in the area that it must be compensated for under the contract by an abatement of the price. I am glad to say that the last dispatch I had from Governor Wright indicates that the Spanish gentleman representing the promoting company, after threatening to break off negotiation, has concluded to be reasonable and that a settlement with the fourth company is near at hand.

There is, we understand, some question as to the division of the money between the Religious Orders and the Church. The Vatican has intimated that a very considerable part of the money paid ought to be retained in the Philippines for the purpose of maintaining the Church; and of course all who are interested in the islands must be

interested in having as large a fund as possible to assist in the restoration of the Church of the majority to a prosperous condition. It would seem that the Church might very well say to the friars that much of the money which they had accumulated was earned through their administration of Church matters as parish priests, and that that money at least ought to be retained for general church purposes in the islands. However, this is a matter with which we, as representatives of the civil government, have nothing to do, though in its solution we properly have a general interest, growing out of our interest in everything which concerns the welfare of the people of the islands; and the prosperity of all Christian churches among them certainly tends to their betterment.

Nothing has been done toward a solution of the trust questions, because there was not time for Archbishop Guidi and me to reach those less pressing matters. The amount to be paid by the government of the United States for the occupation of the churches and conventos is in the process of being ascertained. Evidence has been taken on both sides, and I have no doubt that with the coming of the new Delegate a proper sum can speedily be reached. This leads me to express my deep regret that

Monsignor Guidi, the Apostolic Delegate, died from heart disease last June in Manila. I regretted this both personally and officially, because we were very warm friends. He had become so familiar with all the questions, and had approached them with so statesmanlike and liberal a spirit that I am convinced that with his assistance all the questions awaiting solution would have been speedily settled. I have not the pleasure or the honor of the acquaintance of the new Apostolic Delegate, but I am assured that he is a worthy successor of Monsignor Guidi. If so, we may look forward to an early conclusion of all the differences that now exist.

I ought to say that though the Vatican declined as a term of the contract to withdraw the Spanish friars from the Philippines, they have been very largely reduced in number,—indeed, in a much shorter time than that in which we asked the Vatican to stipulate they should be. There were over 1000 friars in the Philippines in 1898: by the first of January, 1904, they had been reduced to 246; and 83 of these were Dominicans who have renounced the right to go into the parishes and have devoted themselves to education. Fifty of the remainder are infirm and unable to do any work, or indeed to leave the islands

on account of the danger of the change of climate; so that there are only a few more than 100 available to be sent back to the parishes, and of these many are so engaged in educational work as to make it impracticable for them to act as parish priests. The consequence is that, as there are more than 900 parishes, the question of the intervention of the Spanish friars in the islands as parish priests ceases to be important.

When the Filipinos were advised that the Roman Pontiff would not formally and by contract agree to withdraw the friars as a condition of the purchase of the lands, Aglipay, a former Catholic priest, took advantage of the disappointment felt at the announcement to organize a schism and to found what he calls the "Independent Filipino Catholic Church."

Aglipay had been a priest rather favored by the Spanish hierarchy. He had been made the grand vicar of the diocese of Nueva Segovia, of which Vigan is the head. When Aguinaldo, with his government, was at Malolos, and afterward at Tarlac, Aglipay appeared and acted as his chief religious adviser. He was called to Manila by the archbishop, and, declining to go, was excommunicated. Subsequently he was given a guerrilla command in Ilocos Norte, and as a

guerrilla leader acquired a rather unenviable reputation for insubordination. His generalissimo, Tinio, issued an order (which I have seen) directing that he be seized and captured wherever found, and turned over to the military authorities for punishment as a bandit. However, he surrendered among others, and gave over his forces to the United States.

Popular hatred of the friars gave force to his movement, and he had the sympathy of many wealthy and educated Filipinos who declined to join his church and were not willing to leave the Roman communion, but whose dislike for the friars and their control aroused their opposition to the apparent course of Rome in this matter. The adherents of Aglipay came largely from the poorer people throughout the islands. The vicious and turbulent all joined the ranks; every demagogue and every disappointed politician who saw the initial rapid increase in the membership of the new church, joined it in order to get the benefit of its supposed political strength.

The use of the words "independent Filipino" in the name of the church was probably intended to secure popular support, though it was not an improper use of the words to describe such a schism. In this way it has occurred that politicians have

made Aglipayism mean one thing in one place and another thing in another; and that while generally it may be said that the church is recruited from those who would join an insurrection if opportunity offered, and embraces most of those enrolled in the Nationalist party, whose platform favors immediate independence, there are many respectable followers of Aglipay, not Nationalists, who separated from the Roman Church chiefly on the basis of opposition to the friars. Aguinaldo was one of the first to enrol himself as a follower of Aglipay, and published a letter advising Filipinos generally to do so.

Aglipay has installed himself as *Obispo Maximo* of the Independent Filipino Catholic Church, and has created fifteen or twenty bishops. He and his bishops have organized churches in various provinces. Of course the first business of the new church authorities is to secure church buildings and property, and they turn with longing eyes to the churches and parish houses heretofore used by the Roman Catholic Church. They maintain that these churches are really government property, and that therefore the people of the islands may, if they wish, properly take them from the authorities of the Roman Church and give them to the Independent Filipino Catholic Church. There

are churches and chapels which have not been occupied as such by the Roman Catholic Church for four or five years, because of the inadequate number of priests. In some of these church and chapel buildings, with the consent of the townspeople, priests of the Aglipayan church have set up their worship. In other places, church buildings have been constructed of temporary materials.

Aglipay looks forward to the early independence of the islands because, as he says, he expects that under a Filipino government all the property now held by the Roman Church in the islands will be properly appropriated to the benefit of the Independent Filipino Catholic Church, then to become the State Church. The possibility that confiscation of church property might follow the leaving of the islands by the Americans in the near future, may be judged somewhat by the action of the Aguinaldo government in confiscating the friar lands; though, of course, the feeling against the friars was much stronger than Aglipay could arouse against the Roman Church. This government in giving up control of the islands could require as a condition from the new government that no such confiscation of church lands should take place; but it is doubtful of how much avail a stipulation of this character would be, if courts organized

under the new government were to hold that all the property in possession of the Roman Church in the islands were really government property. But would not the majority of good Roman Catholics among the people prevent such proceedings in case of Philippine independence? I do not know. It is possible. The difficulty with the Filipino people, however, has heretofore been that when the guiding and restraining hand of Spain or the United States has been withdrawn, it has been the violent and the extremists who have come to the front and seized the helm.

Let us examine somewhat more in detail what this question of the title of the parish churches and convento is.

Under the Concordat with Spain, Spain, by reason of the control of church matters which was given her, assumed the obligation to construct the churches and conventos and to pay the priests a yearly stipend. As we have already seen, the parish priest, who was usually a friar, had absolute control over the people and parish where he lived. He induced the people to contribute material and work to the construction of the church, to the building of the parish house or convento, and the laying out of the cemetery. He selected his site in the most prominent place in the town,

usually upon the public square. The title in the site was either in the municipality itself or in the central government of Spain as the Crown land. The close union of Church and State made it unnecessary to procure a formal patent from the State to the Church, and so it is that many of the churches stand upon what the records show to be public property. Now, in towns in which a majority of the people belong to the Aglipayan church (and there are such towns), it is quite natural that they should think that the church, convento and cemetery belong to the municipality, and so should be used as desired by the majority of the people of the municipality. In some instances, the native parish priest himself has deserted the Roman communion and has joined the Aglipayan church. In such cases the priest has simply turned over to the municipality the possession of the church, convento and cemetery, and received it back as a priest of the Aglipayan church at the instance of the people of the municipality.

Personally, as a lawyer, I am convinced that in most cases the churches, conventos and cemeteries belong, not to the people of the municipality or to the municipality, but to the Roman Catholics of the parish; that they were given to be used by the Roman Catholics of the parish for Roman

Catholic worship, for the residence of the Roman Catholic priest, and for the interment of Roman Catholics; that this was a trust which required, if completely executed, that the title should be, according to canon law, in the bishop of the diocese; and that, therefore, the Roman Catholic Church is entitled to possession, through its priests, for the benefit of the Catholics of the parish. This opinion of mine is founded on an official opinion given by the Solicitor-General, a Filipino lawyer of the highest ability, but it, of course, can not control the decisions of the courts when their opinion is invoked upon the issue; and what their opinion is can be authoritatively settled only by suits brought and decided; for this is a question which, because of its importance, might very well be carried through the Supreme Court of the islands to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Executive has been powerless to prevent a change of possession where that change of possession was peaceable and effected without violence or disturbance of the peace. The only recourse for the Roman Church in such cases is to the courts. Both sides have avoided the courts on the ground that it would be expensive to go to them, and have looked to the Executive

to assist them. Much feeling exists over these questions of property; and we find that good, conscientious Catholics, including some of the American bishops in the Philippines, insist that it is the business of the Executive to determine in advance the question of title or rightful possession and to turn the Aglipayans out. Such a course would involve the Executive in all sorts of difficulties, and is contrary to our principles of judicature, in that it would be taking from the municipalities, without due process of law something of which they were in possession. It is said that because municipalities are merely the arm of the central government, and because, as the Executive ought to know, the municipalities have no title to the property, it is his business as the executive and superior of the municipalities to order them out of possession. But the difficulty here is that under the Treaty of Paris the property of the municipality, as well as the property of the religious Orders, is declared to be inviolate by the central government; and it would, therefore, savor of most arbitrary action were the governor to declare the title in advance and direct the municipality to give up possession. In other words, the municipality in such action is to be treated as a quasi-citizen and as having property

rights over which the central government has no arbitrary control. The Philippine government is now engaged in preparing for the establishment of a special tribunal which shall go through the provinces and consider all the questions arising from the churches and conventos and cemeteries, decide the same, and place the judgments in the hands of the Executive and have them executed. In this way a burning question, and one which is likely to involve a great deal of bitterness and perhaps disturb the public peace, can be disposed of with least friction, with least expense, with greatest speed, and with a due regard to everybody's rights.

Archbishop Guidi adopted the policy, which I can not but think is the wise one, of accepting the resignation of the Spanish archbishop and bishops who had formed the hierarchy in the Philippine Islands, and all of whom were friars; and appointing in their places one Filipino bishop, an American archbishop of Manila and three American bishops. I speak with considerable knowledge when I say that the work which these prelates will have to perform in order that they may be successful will require an immense amount of patience, charity, self-sacrifice, self-restraint and hard work; but ultimately the reward for their labors will

come, and when it comes will be amply worth all the effort. I sincerely hope that the coming of the Catholic bishops means the gradual increase of the number of American priests who may be induced to take parishes in the islands, and to instruct the native clergy, both by precept and example, in what constitutes a model priest of the Roman Catholic Church. The elevation of the priesthood in those islands means much for the elevation of the people. The American priests are used to free government, to a separation of Church and State, and to a church independent of political control and political manipulation.

I am not a Catholic, and as a member of the government I have no right to favor one sect or denomination more than another; but I have a deep interest in the welfare of the Philippine Islands, as anyone charged with the civil government of them must have. And when I know that a majority of the people there are sincere Roman Catholics, anything which tends to elevate them in their church relation is, I must think, for the benefit of the government and the welfare of the people at large.

There are Protestant missionaries in the islands. They have done excellent work. They have conducted themselves with the utmost propriety and tact; and there has

been very little, if any, conflict between them and the Roman Catholics. If anyone is interested in the local differences growing out of the presence in the islands of the Roman Catholics, the Aglipayans and the Protestants, which have been brought to the attention of the Executive of the islands for action, he can find a full account of them as an appendix to the report of the civil governor of the islands for 1903. There is work enough in the Philippines for all denominations. The schools and charities which all denominations are projecting will accomplish much for the benefit of those aided; and the Christian competition—if I may properly use such a term—among the denominations in doing good will furnish the strongest motive for the maintenance of a high standard of life, character and works among all the clergy, and so promote the general welfare.

One subject I must touch upon before I close, and that is the public schools and the teaching of religion. Under the limitations of the constitution and the instructions of President McKinley requiring us to keep Church and State separate, we could not expend the public money for the teaching of religion; but we provided in the school law that at the instance of the parents of the children, for a certain time each week, the

schoolhouse could be occupied for the teaching of religion by the minister of any church established in the town, or by anyone designated by him. I am glad to say that this provision is working satisfactorily. In many towns, by arrangement, the public schools have their sessions in the morning and the catechism schools are held in the churches in the afternoon.

The Roman Catholics of this country and the Philippines have, not unnaturally, felt sensitive over the fact that a considerable majority of the American schoolteachers were Protestants. This arose from the simple fact that the number of Protestant teachers disengaged and able to go to the Philippines was very much greater than Catholic teachers so situated. However, it must not be forgotten that all Filipino teachers—three thousand in number, and more than three times as many as the American teachers—are Catholics. Naturally, the Filipino teachers come much nearer to the children of the primary school than do the American teachers. Again, we have imposed the severest penalty upon any teacher found trying to proselyte or to teach children ideas in favor of one religion or against another. The Secretary of Public Instruction and the Superintendent of Schools in Manila are both Roman Catholics, so

that it is unlikely that any discrimination against their religion will be permitted in the school system. The American teachers in the Philippines are of necessity temporary. The ultimate object of the public school system is to secure ten or fifteen thousand Filipino teachers who will be able to teach all branches in English. They certainly are not likely to be prejudiced against the Catholic Church.

Of course, it is the duty of this government, and all acting under it, to treat every denomination with strict impartiality, and to secure the utmost freedom of religious worship for all.

It is natural that a good Catholic without government responsibility should hold Aglipay and his followers in abhorrence as apostates from the true Church as he believes it; and should view with little patience governmental recognition of them as a new church entitled to as much protection, when they do not violate the law or the rights of others, as either the Roman Catholic or the Protestant denomination. But neither the civil government under American principles of freedom of religion, nor any officer thereof, whatever may be his religious predilections, can examine into the creed or history of a church, or determine its virtues or shortcomings, but must secure its mem-

bers in their right to worship God as they choose, so long as they keep within the laws and violate no one's rights. Of course where the government owes money or is under any other legal obligation to a church, it may properly facilitate the negotiation of a settlement and the payment of the money or the performance of its obligation from the proper motive not only of doing justice but also of generally aiding those institutions which make for the moral and religious elevation of the people. On this ground, and because of the danger of the disturbance of the peace from such controversy, it may properly provide special judicial tribunals for suits between churches over property. It is a mistake to suppose that the American government is opposed to the success and prosperity of churches. It favors their progress; it exempts them from taxation; it protects their worship from disturbance; it passes laws for their legal incorporation. But it can not discriminate in favor of one or against another. It must treat all alike. It is exceedingly difficult, however, in the heat of religious controversy between sects to convince both sides that the course of the government is free from favor to either party. We have not escaped criticism, first from one side and then the other in the Philippines; but a perusal of the

record of each controversy, contained in the Governor's report for 1903, already referred to, will show that the government has attempted to pursue the middle line, and has fairly well succeeded.

In closing this long and somewhat desultory discussion, I can not refrain from expressing my gratification that, on the whole, the Administration in this country has found the utmost liberality of view among American Catholics and Protestants alike in the manner in which its efforts to solve these delicate religious questions have been received and commented on. While there has been some bitter condemnation of the course taken it seemed to come only from extremists on one side or the other, and was not shared in, I think, by the great body of Catholics and Protestants. It speaks volumes for the religious tolerance of the present day that the motives of the Administration in sending an agent to Rome for negotiation were not generally misconstrued, and that the result of that negotiation has met with the general and intelligent approval of all denominations. I do not think that such a result would have been possible in this nation thirty years ago, or that a similar tolerance and liberality could be found to exist between different religious denominations of any other country.

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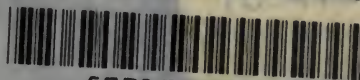
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